2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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in other words the cultural mechanisms for producing, preparing, and dividing food.

I have gained much since writing the earlier book from recent developments of Professor Malinowski's type of functional analysis of institutions, and in particular his treatment of agriculture in his last book (*Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, 1935). The practical bent of the present work also has led to frequent comparisons between traditional tribal economics and the new products of European industrial organization, and hence to the type of anthropological problem known as 'culture contact' on this side of the Atlantic, and 'acculturation' on the other. On this aspect I also owe much to the stimulus of Malinowski's recent work and to that of many of the Institute Fellows who have tackled similar questions in the field.[1] The American concept of 'culture patterns', with its emphasis on the comparative view-point I have found very stimulating, more especially as outlined recently by R. Linton, R. Benedict, and M. Mead. I cannot accept the criteria used by the last two writers to describe the culture patterns of particular societies, but I hope later to present the main body of my Bemba material in a form which will serve as a basis for comparative work of a rather different type, and in the meantime I have tried in this book to indicate the 'orientation' or 'pattern' of Bemba interests and activities as they affect the consumption or production of food.

The expeditions on which this material was collected were financed by several different Foundations, and to these I must tender very grateful thanks. For my first trip (May 1930–July 1931) grants were made by the Board of Bantu Studies of Capetown University, the Rhodes Trustees, and the Percy Sladen Trust. On my second tour (January 1933–July 1934) I had a fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation. To this last body I also owe thanks for assistance in working up my material at the London School of Economics—in particular for the help of Miss Pauline Blackmore, who died tragically of a sudden illness in the middle of the work, and that of Miss Phyllis Kaberry, herself a field-worker with Australian experience, who gave me much expert aid.

In Northern Rhodesia my work would have been quite impossible without the hospitality I was continually given. Miss H. Eastland, the Government native welfare officer at Kasama, let

[1] Cf. *Methods of Study of Culture Contact*, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, Memo XV, 1938.

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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121 It is an attempt to describe in the case of one particular African people—the Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia[1]—the different cultural factors that combine to influence the production, distribution, and consumption of food. It is an account of the foodstuffs of a given area, the use the people put them to, their eating customs and prejudices, and their methods of growing, storing, and dividing food. It thus contains an outline of the type of material an anthropologist considers necessary for the study of primitive diet.[2]

The Present Study.

•114 The material for the present study was collected during two expeditions to North-Eastern Rhodesia (May 1930–July 1931 and January 1933–July 1934). In both I was engaged on a purely anthropological investigation, but since agriculture is the chief economic activity of the Bemba, and gardening and food their principal topics of talk, it was natural that I should have found myself constantly considering the question of the people's food supply. The social and economic changes in this area produced by the new calls on its labour also necessitated a detailed study of native agricultural methods and domestic economics, as these were affected by the absence of so large a proportion of the adult males. I made constant observations of the people's economic activities, as well as their cooking, distributing, and eating customs, as part of my study of their whole domestic life, and added to the general outline study, which must occupy any anthropologist during the first months of a field trip, many of the detailed observations used in this book. I took daily records of the food eaten by sample families at different times of year,[3] and made notes on the types of cultivation in a great number of individual gardens. I also kept daily calendars of the work of the men and women in two

tribes in Nyasaland under the auspices of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and the Medical Research Council.

[1] Formerly written 'Awemba'. *Vide* Gouldsbury and Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, 1911.

[2] It is hoped that this work will be read in conjunction with the report of the Government Ecological Survey of this area now in progress, and that a medical survey of the physique and health of the natives living on this diet may be undertaken later.

[3] With the help of Mrs. Gore-Browne in the first two cases. These records have been published jointly with Dr. E. M. Widdowson, in the article already referred to. 'A Dietary Study in Northern Rhodesia', *Africa*, vol. ix, no. 2, 1937.

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particular villages and timed their different activities (cf. Appendix, Table E).

The conditions of work in this area were particularly favourable from some points of view. The Bemba live in communities of thirty to fifty huts. These are not surrounded by any kind of enclosure and most of the cooking, eating, dancing, quarrelling, and children's play take place out of doors. Hence by placing my tent in the middle of a village, I could watch the people's activities going on around me. I never slept in a native hut but think I observed as much or more from my point of vantage. Kinship patterns and the interplay of individual character—factors that also influence economic co-operation and food distribution—stood out clearly in settlements of this size. I reckoned to spend three to six weeks in each village. The type of chieftainship—the dominant institution in this culture—necessitated my travelling rather extensively from district to district in order to complete a study of ritual and political forms. These visits to different villages from one end of the country to another were valuable from an agricultural point of view since they showed me the range of local variation in cultivation and gave me comparative material on the social and economic changes introduced into Bemba villages by European contacts of different types.[1] But a nutrition expert making a quantitative study of diet would probably have collected more valuable material by staying in one village throughout the whole year.

I worked throughout in the native language as this was essential in this particular area. I therefore had to give up a month entirely to linguistic work on my arrival, and spent at least three before I was able to question informants with any success.[2] The actual

[1] Cf. my 'Anthropological Problems in North-Eastern Rhodesia', *Africa*, 1932, vol. v, and 'The Village Census in the Study of Contact Problems', ibid., 1935, vol. viii.

Longer visits were made to villages selected from four different administrative districts, i.e. visits of one to two months in the following: Chiefs' villages—Citimukulu, Mwamba, Nkula, Candamukulu, Matipa on Cilubi Island; and commoners' villages, *Chinsali district*—Pambalasa, Kachienja, Kasaka, Kasakatula; *Mpika district*—Shilusuko; *Kasama district*—Kungu, Mubanga, Kampamba. Visits of one week to three weeks: Chiefs' villages—Makassa, Nkolemfumu, Mwaba, Lucembe, Shimwalule, and commoner's villages, *Mpika district*—Kapongolo; *Kasama district*—Cimba, Citikafula, Molema.

[2] Some grammars and vocabularies exist. W. Lammond, *A Short Grammar of Chibemba*, 1926; *Bemba–English Vocabulary*, 1926; E. B. H. Goodall, *Some Wemba Words*, 1921; P. Guillermé, *Dictionnaire Français–Chibemba*, 1920.

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avoid identifying myself with either of the three classes of Europeans referred to, and in some ways it was easier for a woman anthropologist to do so than for a man. I gradually established a role as an inquirer into native customs, with the taking of notes and photographs as my 'work', and many elderly men and women were actually interested in 'teaching' me, but I was always treated as a person in authority however little I tried to exert that power. I was referred to as 'chieftainess' or even 'chief', as are most Government officials, and finally found it best to adopt the speech patterns of the Bemba royal family when addressing commoners, and to accept as much deference as they did. This position of prestige prevented my attaining any real position of equality with the people but was an advantage in carrying out village censuses when it was helpful to be able to exert a certain amount of authority.[1]

To these preliminary statements I should add the fact that I have never lived in a European agricultural community, and it is therefore possible that some of the customs of cultivation which I describe as 'primitive' exist among peasants in this continent. I have had a general biological training but know nothing of medical and agricultural science or of ecology, and was unable at the time to get any practical co-operation from experts in these fields.

To describe a culture the anthropologist has to draw upon notes of personal observations, native texts, and concrete documentation in the form of daily records, plans, and descriptions of individual cases. It has not been possible to get a tenth of this material *into* a book of this size, and much of it cannot be summarized in statistical form. I have therefore given concrete cases here and there as illustrative material only, indicating where I could whether such incidents were common. Where I have used the phrase 'The Bemba say . . .', I mean a statement regularly made in answer to a question, or a formalized utterance in the shape of a proverb or saying. Different points of view as occurring between

[1] Cf. also M. Herskovits' use of the term 'social visibility' in relation to a white anthropologist in Africa, *Life in a Haitian Valley*, 1937, pp. 322-23. My friend E. J. Lindgren has pointed out to me how important it is for the ethnologist to describe his role in a native community and has stressed the very different attitude of the Asiatic peoples of N. China to the visit of a European anthropologist from that of the Africans and Melanesians. *Congrès international des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques*, 1934, Section B. Cf. also O. A. Oeser's 'Methods and assumptions in field-work in Social Psychology', *B. Journal of Psychology*, 1937, vol. xxvii.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
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Preface

114 I watched the ceremony described in this book in 1931 while I was doing a year's anthropological research among the Bemba, the dominant tribe in North-eastern Rhodesia. In 1933 I returned to the same area and continued my work until 1934; but though I collected a number of additional comments on the rites known in that country as chisungu (*cisungu*), I never had the good fortune to attend another ceremony of the same kind.

114 178 Nevertheless, I thought it important to publish an account of the single chisungu I was able to see because such ceremonies are rapidly dying out in Central Africa. I think it certain that the chisungu is performed much less frequently now than during my two visits; it may even be quite extinct. I have written in the present tense in this book because I have not been able to revisit Lubemba to see what changes have taken place there. When I use such phrases as 'in the old days' or 'formerly' I refer to customs which were no longer evident at the time of my visit. When I use the present tense I refer to practices current between the years 1930 and 1934 when I was still living in the country.

114 171 Heavy teaching duties and a world war have prevented me from publishing this material for over twenty years. The delay has been unfortunate except from one point of view: the book now appears shortly after one entitled *African Figurines* written by my friend Hans Cory, and published by the same firm. Mr. Cory's book describes the pottery figurines used in initiation ceremonies which resemble the chisungu in many parts of East, Central and South Africa. In Tanganyika, where he has worked for many years, these rites are disappearing as rapidly as they are in Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Cory has made great efforts to collect as many of the figurines as possible while they could still be acquired. His book indicates the wide distribution of these pottery symbols in Tanganyika and their use as one of the teaching methods of the initiation cere-

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
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114 monies. Figurines are also used in the Bemba chisungu; conse-
171 quently Mr. Cory's fine set of photographs of the pottery models is a valuable introduction to the subject of this book. I am grateful for the opportunities he gave me to look at his collection at his house at Mwanza on Lake Victoria, and for many talks I have had with him on the subject.

114 Part of my account of Bemba marriage is derived from a paper published by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and entitled *Bemba Marriage and Modern Economic Conditions*.[1] Since this paper is now out of print it is difficult for students to refer to it. With the consent of Dr. Clyde Mitchell, the Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, I have included some extracts from it in the text.

104 When I use terms in Cibemba, the language of the Bemba, I employ the current orthography in which the letter C is used for the hard C which is somewhat like 'ch' in English. Since English readers would be in doubt about the pronunciation of the word *cisungu* I have rendered this throughout as 'chisungu'. Following dictionary practice initial vowels of nouns have been omitted.

121 A generous grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation enabled me to write up this part of my field material. I am much indebted to the Warden and Fellows of Nuffield College who gave me hospitality and provided the secretarial help which allowed me to complete the work.

080 I am, like every ethnographer, grateful for the patient help of tribal informants to whom I refer in the text. I also owe a great deal to Mr. E. Mundy, District Commissioner, Chinsali, during my stay, who gave me much practical assistance.

Professor Leonard Doob of Yale University was kind enough to read my first draft of the book, and Dr. David Schneider, then of the London School of Economics and now of Harvard University, made a number of stimulating suggestions. When the typescript was nearing completion my friend Mrs. E. M. Chilver gave me encouragement that I greatly valued and then took over the book and polished it and prepared it for the press, besides trying to teach me some English grammar. I am very grateful for her help.

[1] A. I. Richards, *Bemba Marriage and Modern Economic Conditions*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 4, 1940.

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THE LUAPULA PEOPLES

INTRODUCTION

114 Published data on the peoples of the Luapula Valley, the most important of whom are the Lunda of Chief Kazembe, are extremely meagre. They consist mostly of casual information scattered through the pages of travellers', officials' and missionaries' books. It would have been impossible to make any ordered survey on the basis of these data. Fortunately, however, Mr. I. G. Cunnison, Research Officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, was in England for a few months after completing his first year's researches in the region, and was kind enough to make available his rough manuscript on certain topics as well as information embodied in lectures he gave at Oxford. Without these it would have been impossible for this part of the survey to have been written at all. As no full, considered analysis of his material has yet been made by Mr. Cunnison, he has no responsibility for my interpretations in any part of this survey.

GROUPING AND DEMOGRAPHY

101 563 The Lower Luapula valley is inhabited by groups of diverse tribal origins. Those on the east bank of the river in Northern Rhodesia are known to their neighbours as *Bena Kazembe* (the people of Kazembe) and are often collectively described as "Kazembe's Lunda". The conquering Lunda (also known as *Londa, Alunda, Varunda, Aronda, Alonda, Balonda*),(1) were probably never numerically preponderant, but they established themselves as a governing class and still retain to some extent their former prestige and political ascendancy. The west bank of the Luapula, which lies in the Belgian Congo, has passed under the dominance of the Nkuba of the royal Shila (also known as *Wasira, Messira*) line. This ruling group of the matrilineal Shila, congeners of the Bemba,(2) had earlier controlled territory on the east bank but were subdued by the invading Lunda before the middle of the eighteenth century.

131 The kingdom of the Lunda Kazembe thus consists of an elongated strip of country stretching almost due north-south for about one hundred miles, along the meridian 28° 45' between 9° and 11° lat. S. To the west it is bounded by the Luapula, and to the east by the uninhabited hills of the escarpment beyond which lies the tribal territory of the Chishinga. Beginning about thirty miles south of the Luongo, a tributary of the Luapula, it extends northwards to Lake Mweru and twenty miles up its east shore to the Mwateshi stream, including Sokwe island on Lake Mweru.

The limits of the modern Nkuba kingdom to the west of the river can be indicated with less certainty as running from Lake Mweru in the north through the Kundelungu mountains and thence to the river about the same latitude as the southern limit of the kingdom of Kazembe.

The valley forms a natural ecological and economic unit orientated

(1) Burton, 1873, p.36. (2) See p.1.

Preface.

Since I completed this paper Chitimukulu Kanyanta has died, in August, 1943. At least a year will pass after the death before a successor begins to inherit, and, as Mwamba too has been dangerously ill for some time, it is likely that there will be great changes of personnel throughout the main lines of Bemba chieftainships within the next year or so. The inheritance of a big chieftainship sometimes takes as long as two years. This gives ample time for the resolving of any personal or tribal disputes and some are sure to occur. The claims of the third branch of the clan will, on this occasion, cause some debate.

The fact that Kanyanta has died does not affect the discussions in this paper. For it is the principles and the precedents of succession that I have tried to emphasise, and the usefulness of this work will extend, I hope, far beyond the deaths of existing chiefs. Much has been written about the Bemba but no full and thorough study of the succession of chiefs has yet been published. But the tribe is the largest in Northern Rhodesia and the typical movement of chiefs from one district to another on succession is a factor that affects the work of officials of many departments. So that though the subject may make dull reading its importance to Government justifies a detailed study.

It is necessary to say something of the attached genealogical table. The table compiled by the late E. H. B. Goodall was prepared in 1910–12. It is a thorough piece of work but it is eleven feet long and thus unsuitable for reproduction in this paper. A smaller edition was prepared during the Willis enquiry in 1924. The table I give here is adapted from this latter one with amendments to bring it up to date. It deals only with the present lineage. District Note Books and works by Missionaries contain many long lists of Chitimukulus but no one list agrees with another about the number of Paramounts that have reigned since the dim past. Since this is a modern discussion and not a historical study the restriction of the table to the verified and known chiefs of the present lineage is adequate. The Paramount just deceased was thus Chitimukulu VIII of the present lineage, though some writers would make him the thirty-second of present and traditional history.

The letter and figure following each proper name in this paper are given for ease of reference to the corresponding line and place in the genealogical table.

I am most grateful for the help and comments of Father Etienne of the White Fathers Missions. He is an expert of many years standing on the Bemba and his assistance has been invaluable to me in clarifying the principles of succession.

I must also thank Dr. Max Gluckman, the Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for important criticisms and suggestions on the earlier draft of this paper.

W. V. Brelsford,
District Officer.

Luwingu,
March, 1944.

Introduction.

The Bemba, the largest tribe in Northern Rhodesia, have been studied extensively and intensively of recent years and a large body of published material is available for consultation. I do not think it necessary then to preface these notes with any sociological introduction. A list of some of the relevant works is given at the end. The two by Dr. Richards are especially concerned with the political structure of the tribe. (1), (2). 114

The appointment of chiefs lies primarily with the Paramount in Council, which is the Superior Native Authority, but as is natural, Government retain the power of overriding this organisation at any time. This power is normally exercised through the Council and has taken the form on several recent occasions of very full discussions between the Council and Government before a final choice was made. Government has also encouraged the Paramount and his Council to consider a reduction in the number of petty chiefs, with the result that they have recommended that certain of them no longer be recognised. 622 643

It is essential for the Government to keep a strict watch over appointments because each one affects not only one particular chieftainship but usually several others as well. For, generally speaking, the heirachy of Bemba chieftainships is graded, in several distinct sections, and the death of one means not only the promotion of a lower chief into the gap but often several moves up of still lower chiefs, resulting in the appointment of only one new man, and he the lowest. The moves often spread over several administrative districts and one of the aims of this paper is to give District Officers some indication of how the main moves are made and what change of chiefly personnel they may expect. I hope also it will give them some indication as to whether personal or tribal politics are entering into and prejudicing appointments. Such events are very common, because, although the system is complicated it is also very flexible, and personal animosities and friendships have often upset what appeared to be a traditional sequence of promotion. 622

The system of succession is very intricate to the outsider and a study of it is essential. There is no doubt that if Government did not discuss nominations with the Paramount and his council, and lend support when necessary, the various successions would present a very tangled skein to the ordinary District Officer. For not only do the previously mentioned influences operate but the hereditary councillors, *Bakabilo*, who form the ultimate authority, have often switched inheritances out of their course, and from older branches of the clan to younger ones. These actions have not only disinherited incapable or objectionable heirs but have sometimes been made with the object of giving good posts to distant members of younger branches, so that all members of the clan can share honour. Such power is easy to abuse and the Council is, of course, open to influence. Unless we fully understand the flexibility of a system that attempts to satisfy the demands of such a large clan, many choices of successor may appear very puzzling. At the same time this very characteristic also could give Government both opportunity and precedent for exercising influence. In spite of the many apparent aberrations from the rigid principles of succession, the tribal elders do keep very careful check on all the cross currents of successful 622 645